20¢ SEPTEMBER 12, 1949

New Republic

AMERICA'S NEW POLICY IN EUROPE

AN EDITORIAL

- ## THE GERMAN ELECTIONS

By PERCY WINNER

- ## FARMER-WORKER LOVE FEAST

By HAROLD WOLFF

- ## PROGRESSIVES AND COMMUNISTS

By GUS TYLER

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The year that got away—

LONG AGO, he'd planned the year, the day, the hour of his retirement.

But now, a year beyond that date, his desk is still open . . . the weekday trout still in the brook.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

WHAT WITH Stafford Cripps, Ernie Bevin, squads of top UK political and economic advisers, platoons of experts and battalions of London journalists running about energetically here this week in their black hats, striped pants and rosy complexions, even the professional attendants behind the better Washington bars are picking up the vernacular, so help us, dear boy, amidst an air of extreme and deserved interest. After half a dozen briefings for reporters, we can add only one small point—but one you can get your teeth into: We need the British as much as, if not more than, they need the Americans.

Britain is our bastion in Europe, our hope for peace, our peg for trade revival; through its ties in India and 'round the world it is our outpost in the global struggle. A lot of people don't realize this yet, but the fact is there all the same. It will mold and shape the result. One British task over here is to spell out this fact. Because of it we won't let the British down too hard. We can't. They have blue-chip bargaining counters too.

It is true that a number of friendly US experts, ideology aside, think Britain has been trying to do too much too fast, and that sterling devaluation is almost a certainty. They take the view that it is up to British politicians to break the bad news to the home folks, which will be tough before an election. Little hope is held for immediate results. The most cheerful aspect is that at the center of affairs where expert meets expert there is modesty, even humility, of opinion.

The week of Labor Day is a stock-taking time. The Senate has snatched a week's holiday before returning for another weary bout starting with two weeks' wordage on extending the Hull Tariff Act. The House is closed down till September 21. This is a lull for reflection. How goes the Truman duel with Congress? Well, eight months have written the classic case history of what's the matter with our government. Truman won a spectacular election with a "Democratic" Congress. And as everybody knows, the legislative snarl is now the worst in memory.

As we ponder the fascinating subject, here are some of our conclusions: The simple mechanics of legislative procedure are hopelessly out of date at a time when governmental business is vastly greater. Then again the Founding Fathers consciously put blocks to fast action in the Constitution and these are increasingly used as barricades behind which the conservatives continue to preserve the status quo.

There's another big point: President and Congress are picked by two separate electorates. This happened again in 1948. Truman was picked on national issues while old Congressman Dufflebag was picked on local issues, often conflicting with what the candidate and platform pledged. It's perfectly clear to everybody that Truman's Congressional "majority" means little.

And that raises the final point. The solution for this mess is to find some means of strengthening party discipline. We can't see any other way out. The national party structure has got to be built up. The most comforting thing to us is the growing realization of big voting groups, like labor, that they are bilked by present procedure. Labor is slowly but surely going into politics for self-protection, and other groups, such as Americans for Democratic Action, are emerging to help force the issue.

On the whole, we guess the Truman scorecard won't look too bad at the end of the final 1950 session, when campaign promises are toted up against enacted legislation. Truman's obstinacy

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and persistence are his most notable traits and their abrasive effect on this reluctant Congress is rather impressive, as he said in his Labor Day speeches. Mostly you read in newspapers about Truman defeats, which are spectacular enough, but Truman keeps coming back again and again to things; he is accumulating quite a respectable total of passed bills and is due for more.

As this is written, it seems likely that Truman may soon have a new Supreme Court appointee. He has filled three of the nine posts so far, with Vinson, Burton and Tom Clark. Vinson has not distinguished himself; Burton is a reactionary; and we regard Clark's choice as deplorable. Truman has tipped the closely balanced Roosevelt court to the conservative side. Not too optimistically, we await the next choice.

You can drive a horse-and-buggy, let alone a Conestoga wagon or a 1949 Buick, through the present anti-trust law. Most glaring loophole is the failure to stop one company from acquiring the physical assets of another for the purpose of ending competition. For a quarter-century the Federal Trade Commission has cried out against this paradox and great corporations have grown greater. Under the prodding of able Representative Celler (D, N. Y.), the House has finally passed a bill to plug the leak, 223 to 92. The Senate will start monopoly hearings soon toward the same end.

Notes: Truman's effective Labor Day speeches pretty well outline 1950 campaign issues; it must have surprised the 81st Congress to hear him praise it. . . . The steel companies' refusal to accept industry-wide mediation offered by the three-man Fact Finding Board indicates a desire by many steel barons to force a showdown. . . . The B-36 investigation made a crash landing. . . . ECA Hoffman's advice to the British to make a harder fight for the US market squarely raises the tariff issue; America's new world role makes high tariffs stupid.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

The Price of Aluminum

SIR: I read with interest the article by James Stewart Martin on "The High Cost of Aluminum," which appeared in your August 1 issue. Unfortunately, it is misleading in many respects. Martin states that "aluminum still costs so much, 17 cents a pound in mid-1949." He failed to state that this 17 cents a pound is below the 20-cent-per-pound price which prevailed before the war, and that all other metals are priced way above prewar levels.

At another point he complained that aluminum is in the price class of hardwood flooring, whereas "it should be classed with rough lumber." Unfortunately, nature did not make it as simple and economical to get aluminum out of the earth as it is to get rough lumber off the face of it. . . .

In his effort to show that Alcoa still is a monopoly, or at least a semi-monopoly, Martin has glossed over many facts and half-stated others. For example, he characterized the anti-trust suit as "one of the most futile court actions in our history." With the price of aluminum at least 20 percent below prewar levels and with production more than four times as great as before the war, it is difficult to see the basis for this assertion. Similarly, in discussing the disposal of government aluminum war plants, he makes mention only of a plant sold to Alcoa. The fact of the matter is that all but two of the government aluminum war plants were leased or sold to others than Alcoa.

IRVING LIPKOWITZ
Director, Economic Research Dept.,
Reynolds Metal Company
New York City

SIR: I regret that lack of space forced cutting the part of my article that paid tribute to the aluminum price cuts following entry of Reynolds and Kaiser into the field. The public should be grateful even for small favors. However, it is one thing to say my brief article was not a 16-volume compendium of facts about aluminum, and another to charge that it is misleading. The point is not that the price has fallen somewhat, but that it has not yet fallen as far as it *might* if new technology were given a chance. The newer possibilities I mentioned are now expensive, as is any process in the development stage. But why let Alcoa's friends tell us that aluminum must *always* be expensive, and then cut off experimentation by "outsiders"?

Lipkowitz, having devoted years of faithful service in the Anti-Trust Division to prosecuting the aluminum case, is loath to admit that the practical results of the anti-trust case to date have been disappointing. I spent the same time trying to break the German cartels; but, in all candor, I did not decartelize Germany and Lipkowitz did not break the concentration of power in the aluminum industry.

JAMES STEWART MARTIN
Washington, D. C.

Pseudo Democracy

SIR: I have read your statement of policy in the August 15 issue of the *New Republic.* Some of it is good, very good. Yet it strikes me that there is a set of funny people about the editorial offices of the *NR.* What, for example, is "state-aided capitalism"? Can it be that you would offer the services of the government to assist capitalism in its struggle to alleviate human adversity? If so, that is the last gesture toward coöperation that capitalism desires. Isn't the offering of such service just what a liberal government, these many years, has been trying to do? And with what success?

Has the American Medical Association flown with open arms to the bosom of the government to assist in safeguarding the health of the nation? Has the fertilizer trust coöperated with government efforts to save the land from chemical depletion? How about food, housing, steel, water power, coal, aluminum and a score of other business ventures? . . .

You mention instances where capitalism has failed to function democratically. There are others, too—you know them—much more serious, where the ways of capitalism have led to untold suffering and death, *death,* DEATH, in unrecorded numbers that could have been averted if the advice of democracy were heeded. And capitalism unrepentant, red-handed, unmolested, marches on.

You are trying to devise some new thought combination, "state-aided capitalism"; in other words, perhaps, free-enterprise democratic capitalism. No. There is no such thing in existence.

It is with a feeling of disgust that we continue to contemplate the antics of the American government, pseudo democracy. Democracy, what little is in evidence, cannot survive "half slave and half free."

CLARENCE C. CHANDLER
Waco, Tex.

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AMERICA'S NEW POLICY IN EUROPE

THE YEARS of American aid are running out in Europe. Time and the ECA are pressing hard for progress toward European federation.

Europe's immediate problem is 1952, when the ECA ends and Europe will be able to pay for no more than two-thirds of its dollar needs. But the real problem is one of comparative growth and development over many years.

For generations Europe has been falling behind in world economic development, living off aging capital and declining income from past investments overseas. Now its task is to keep up with world development or become an economic ghetto.

America gains one and a half percent to two percent in productivity each year. Western Europe has gained on America since the war. But the gain has been made possible by ECA aid. Also, it is limited to new factories. In agriculture, the OEEC goals foresee no increase in productivity although the gap between the costs of European and non-European agriculture is steadily increasing. Even in industry the gains in productivity are now leveling off. When the ERP ends and American capital is no longer available, Europe—divided as it is today—is certain to fall behind again. The growing contrast between European and non-European costs and standards will lead to growing economic and political division within Europe and between Europe and the world.

Paul Hoffman of the ECA believes in competitive free enterprise. He believes that as long as European businessmen can earn record profits in protected domestic markets they will never push exports or cut costs. The ECA is not forcing competition yet between Europe and America because if unrestricted American imports could be financed they would undersell and bankrupt established European industries. But the ECA is insisting on competition within Europe where differences in productivity between nations are of manageable proportions. It is pressing for economic unification of Europe as the only way of ensuring free competition.

Free competition within Europe means a customs union in which all tariffs and barriers to trade are abolished. In the past, free trade was part of a self-regulating economic system among independent nations. Today free trade in Europe means economic integration. This is proved by the experience of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg, which committed themselves to a complete customs union by 1952. For while the Belgians have cut costs by deflation and devalued their currency, the Dutch have clung to an overvalued guilder, an overextended program of internal investment and an overambitious program of colonial reconquest in Indonesia. The result is that customs union by 1952 seems now impossible. It would mean a drain of resources from Belgium to the Netherlands which would result in uncontrollable inflation in the former country and bankruptcy in the latter.

The unification of Europe requires a series of separate actions:

¶ The first is the realignment of currencies among the OEEC nations, to bring their price levels into proper relation with one another.

¶ The second measure is the abolition of exchange controls by making European currencies fully convertible *in terms of one another.*

¶ The third measure is the coördination of over-all economic and fiscal policies so that one country does not pursue an inflationary course while another undertakes deflation.

¶ The fourth measure in unification is the abolition of all barriers to trade within Europe. According to Edward Dickinson of the ECA, "To achieve in the long run a permanent rate of growth of productivity in Western Europe comparable to that in the United States . . . requires . . . the elimination of barriers to the free movement of goods, of persons and ultimately of capital . . . the abandonment of government and private restrictionist and protectivist practices and the end of open or covert autarchies."

¶ The last measure is the joint agreement on distribution of industry within Europe. For example, there is no place in a unified Europe for the steel industries which the Italians, and—even more fantastic—the Greeks, are trying to create with ECA aid.

To the business mind, trained to distrust government intervention, it may seem that economic unifica-

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tion can be accomplished without political federation. Yet the measures outlined here require responsible authority in a government of Europe.

The joint allocation of new industry requires a European planning commission with wider powers and greater accountability than the present OEEC.

The maintenance of a free economy requires the supervision of trade by some regulatory agencies.

The coördination of fiscal policies means the creation of a banking system for Europe to control the issue of currencies or of a new European currency. Its operation alone would restrict the powers of national governments over taxation and expenditures.

These organizations may at first be made up of the delegates of national governments. But ultimately, if they are to have any power over governments and cartels, they must be responsible to a democratically elected European legislature. Although economic union may be the means to political federation, one cannot proceed without the other.

The forces in favor of unification are general and hard to mobilize. Those opposed to it include workers in high-cost industries; farmers on poorly used land; businessmen who fear competition; governments which earn one-half or more of their revenues from import duties or state monopolies and which are committed to full employment at all times. Yet federation is coming—under the leadership of France, which through this means may regain her classic role. Within a year a convention of OEEC countries may establish a list of products which may move freely within Europe and which will be slowly extended. The customs union of France and Italy will be advanced. A free exchange area with full convertibility of currencies may be created among France, Italy, Benelux and other nations.

The real threat is the exceptional productivity and aggressiveness of Germany. "Around Germany as a central support," Keynes wrote of Europe before 1914, "the rest of the European commerce system arranged itself, and on the prosperity and enterprise of Germany the rest of the continent mainly depended. The increasing pace of Germany gave her neighbors an outlet for which the enterprise of the German merchant supplied them with their chief requirements at a low price."

That was true between the wars. It will soon be true again. Until now the natural trade patterns of Europe have been suppressed because German production has been held down and Germany has been forced to collect in dollars for all her exports in order to pay the costs of occupation. Now all this is changing. The occupation is ending. German productivity is increasing faster than that of any other European nation. At present, liberalization of trade within Europe and the reëmergence of the German market go hand in hand. But in a unified economy an uncontrolled Germany will swiftly recapture her dominating role: holding stocks, setting prices, allocating markets, forcing mergers, dictating the policies of cartels. This power, in the hands of a vengeful, unregenerate, nationalistic, cartel-minded people is an obvious threat.

If America had accepted the French proposal for internationalizing the Ruhr instead of killing it, the greatest barrier to the unification of Europe would be overcome today. It is still not too late. By destruction of German cartels, continued dismantling of war industries, and rigid control of German coal, steel and chemical production through the Ruhr control authority, the dangers of Germany's industrial domination of Europe can be minimized.

The controls would be far more effective, and more acceptable to democratic Germans if, as André Philip proposed at Strasbourg, the Ruhr authority were extended to a general international authority with supervisory power over the basic industries of Europe.

The only security against aggression by Germany lies in her integration within a European federation. It has been assumed that within that federation Britain alone could act as a counterweight to Germany. But Britain, since she is a world power and part of a world-wide system, cannot become a part of Europe. She achieved full strength in a role of mediation. But she is no longer strong enough to live solely by the mediator's role. Her choice is between union with America and union with Europe. She is urgently needed as a participant in a unified Europe, but Europe itself is part of a world whose over-all needs dictate an Anglo-American partnership. Historical tradition, economic necessity, political expediency and popular sentiment all combine in favor of America.

As long as America is uncertain, Britain must play both roles, waiting for America to advance, delaying the advance of Europe, coming to Washington to propose long-range planning, going to Strasbourg to prevent it. Until now we have been uncertain. The ECA has made foreign economic policy; the State Department has avoided its political implications. The Defense Department has pursued its own program; the White House has been a vacuum. Now our government is changing its attitude. It recognizes that Britain must be united with America and Canada in one major economic unit while continental Europe is unified under France, and both are related through the Atlantic union.

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This is a program which, given a democratic policy in Germany, at last makes sense.

Congress, which has been far ahead of the Executive in supporting European federation, should welcome this new policy. Its test is recognition that the cost in helping to ease the immense economic burdens that unification means for Europe, and that union means for Britain, is nothing compared to the cost of rearmament and war if Britain should be bankrupted and European democracy should fail.

The test of leadership is even greater for Europe and greatest of all for European liberals and Socialists.

Historically, federation has been accomplished by the Right since only the Right has been ruthless enough in the past to override its short-range human costs. Today leadership in Europe is again passing to the Right. The Socialists of Europe have become Nationalists.

In addition they fear any developments by which Europe is tied to the unpredictable course of American capitalism. Its power to raise living standards is great; so is its vulnerability to depression. Europeans, traditionally, are more concerned with security than prosperity. And "Democratic Socialists" in particular, as the British Labour Party points out, "have never made economic efficiency the sole criterion for political action."

Economic union with capitalist America is a direct challenge to socialism. But refusal to accept union is a still greater threat, for American capital, with guaranteed returns, will flow to free-enterprise areas such as Western Germany, whose productive power will soon overwhelm autarchic Socialist economies.

Yet a rightist Europe would create new tensions. It would alienate instead of attracting Eastern Europe. It would make an ultimate settlement with Russia harder. If we can reassure the European Left by making this country really foolproof against depression, we shall overcome Europe's deepest fear and remove the last barrier to Western unity.

THE WEEK

DEFEAT OF THE FARM PLAN

President Truman has conceded defeat of a major part of his Fair Deal program—the Brannan farm plan. Up against a Congressional cold-shoulder and opposition of the powerful Farm Bureau Federation and the National Grange, the President has temporarily laid aside the Administration's farm measure that was created to raise the standard of living of farmers and lower prices for consumers. The man responsible for pushing the President into a compromise position is Senator Clinton P. Anderson (D, N. M.), former Secretary of Agriculture, who flatly refused to carry the ball for the Brannan plan.

In a final effort to stop the feud among his agricultural advisers, the President brought Brannan and Anderson together with Congressional leaders in a White House huddle last week. Majority Leader Scott Lucas (D, Ill.) put the question up squarely: either compromise extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and push the Brannan bill, or concentrate on Reciprocal Trade and accept the compromise farm bill introduced by Anderson. The Senate, Lucas argued, could not possibly wage both fights before adjournment late this fall. Unwilling to continue Reciprocal Trade with the Republican restrictions added by the 80th Congress, the President temporarily sacrificed Brannan's plan.

The Brannan price-support program had met its first defeat in the House when Southerners broke away from the Administration and, along with Republicans, supported a weak substitute bill introduced by Representative Albert Gore (D, Tenn.) which would simply continue the law now in effect, supporting prices rigidly at 90 percent of parity. The Senate Agriculture Committee became deadlocked when Anderson walked out on the Administration and introduced his own bill. Shortly after the White House conference, the committee met again and unanimously reported out the Anderson compromise. The bill would keep price supports at or near present 90-percent-of-parity levels next year on the six "basic" crops—corn, wheat, cotton, tobacco, rice and peanuts. Supports for other crops would range flexibly from 75 to 90 percent of parity, and after the first year under quotas basic crops would revert to flexible supports. There is no provision, as in the Brannan plan, for production payments to farmers on perishable crops which are not storable.

Brannan has warned Congress that he expects heavy marketings of hogs this fall to force prices below government support levels. If that happens, the government will be forced to buy pork products and put them in cold storage. "We are going to be in a difficult position," Brannan has said, "unless Congress makes some kind of provision to deal with the hog surplus and the four-million-bushel corn crop we're going to have on our hands." The real fight can be expected in the Senate-House conference committee. Representatives Harold Cooley (D, N. C.) and Stephen Pace (D, Ga.) supported Brannan during the White House meeting and intended to push for a more favorable bill then.

Farm legislation is sure to be a big

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campaign issue in 1950. Neither President Truman nor Secretary Brannan has any intention of giving up the fight. Brannan and his lieutenants in the Agriculture Department have a full schedule of speeches in farm areas throughout the country to build up farm pressure by the 82nd Congress. At the next big rally of Democratic leaders from 11 Western states in San Francisco September 18 and 19, Secretary Brannan will be the principal speaker.

UMBRELLA OVER SOCIETY

Labor has good reason to celebrate Labor Day this year. The Senate has managed to salvage a fair part of the 75-cent-minimum-wage bill, one of President Truman's prime campaign promises to labor. The Senate bill was a big improvement over the House-passed bill which exempted some one million workers now covered by the present law. Although Senate leaders were forced to drop the Administration's fight for broader coverage, they managed to restore most of the exemptions made by the House. Some 1,250,000 low-paid workers will receive wage increases amounting to $300 million the first year, if the House conferees accept the Senate provisions.

Certainly a 75-cent minimum wage is modest enough. The 40-cent rate was inadequate when enacted in 1938 and has long been outmoded by rising costs of living and increased production. (Wages of the 14 million workers in manufacturing had gone up from an average of 63 cents an hour in 1939 to $1.38 this June.) The lift in minimum wages to 75 cents (or $30 a week) at least will lessen the inequality between unorganized wage earners and those in unions. And labor leaders agree that a higher statutory wage will stop many employers from reducing wages.

Southern Democrats, led by Senator Spessard Holland (D, Fla.), and Midwestern Republicans were responsible for passage of several crippling amendments exempting some 250,000 employees of retail and service establishments. However, Senator Claude Pepper (D, Fla.), floor leader for the Administration measure, mustered enough votes to kill sliding-scale substitutes for the 75-cent floor offered by Senators Allen Ellender (D, La.) and J. William Fulbright (D, Ark.). Southerners were against the 75-cent minimum because their region has a high proportion of "little" enterprises where the present 40-cent minimum wage is not too far below the going rate.

In conference committee, Senate leaders will seek to cut the number of exemptions in the House bill. As soon as the bill becomes law, proponents have promised to press for broadened coverage. At present only 22 million of the 60 million workers are under provisions of the Wage and Hour Act. The President has repeatedly asked for protection of another five million employees—workers in farm-processing plants, transportation and shipping, as well as retail-service establishments. As Senator Charles Tobey (R, N. H.) put it:

> If we are going to raise an umbrella over human society in fixing a minimum wage, why make it a leaky one, through which rain will come? Why not make it something which will hold water all along the line?

SOCIALISM IS TO BLAME FOR ALL OF BRITAIN'S TROUBLES, AND LET 'EM GO DOWN!
AMERICAN
BRITON
THE U.S. IS TO BLAME FOR ALL OF BRITAIN'S TROUBLES
HERBLOCK
POST-HALL SYNDICATE, INC.

"Too bad we can't lock them in a room together too."

FREE TIP TO JOHN L. LEWIS

If District 50 of the United Mine Workers is running short of prospects, John L. Lewis could do worse than to get in touch with Alan Strachan, chief of the labor and manpower division of the ECA mission in Greece. Strachan has discovered that there are no fewer than 1,785 different Greek unions, and he would probably be happier in his job if someone with Lewis' talent for amalgamation came along. In the

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course of his Hellenic duties, Strachan has come upon the following organizations under the general heading of unions:

The Union of Cobweb Sweepers, the Union of Wronged Workers of Piraeus, the King Alexandria Confederation of Old Workers, the Council of Retired Lieutenant Generals, the Pan-Hellenic Union of War-Stricken Professional Motorists, the Union of Retired Dancing Masters, and the Union of Wronged and Misled Workers.

The last-named organization consists of former Communists—which shows that even in these times of semantic confusion the Greeks have a word for it.

TRUMAN IN THE MIDDLE

The political heirs of Warren G. Harding got a trifling measure of revenge last week at the expense of President Truman by subjecting one of his more awkward favorites, Major General Harry Vaughan, White House military aide, to the familiar trial by Congressional committee.

Republican Senators McCarthy (Wis.) and Mundt (N. D.), whose devotion to the people's welfare is best demonstrated by the Mundt-Nixon bill which would move the United States toward a dictatorship, thought they saw in the absurd figure of Vaughan a chance to wrap the mantle of righteousness around their own party. They succeeded in embarrassing the President and convicting his military aide of being the biggest small-timer who ever carried a key to the White House.

When the hearings on the President's unfortunate friend were concluded, McCarthy and Mundt, as minority members, were left free to address the press in terms of pious indignation over the iniquities of this Administration, while Truman was put in the unhappy position known as the middle. He did the only thing he could do. He refused to be stampeded by the minority Republicans or by the bulldozing of the press. He said Vaughan was still his uniformed aide.

The position he took did not excuse Vaughan's inexcusable disregard for the sanctity of his position as one close to the elected leader of the greatest nation in the world. Nor did it imply that Truman intends to put up indefinitely with his medal-encrusted friend. It can be assumed that Truman is going to give the matter of General Vaughan some very serious consideration. Meanwhile, a more important question to be considered is whether the President perseveres in his disastrous loyalty to inadequate friends and appoints Mon C. Wallgren to the directorship of the National Security Resources Board, against the best interests of the Fair Deal.

Nonsense about Britain

E. T. LEECH, Senior Editor of the Scripps-Howard Newspapers, ended a few days ago his widely syndicated series of articles on conditions in Britain. They caused an ugly international storm of recriminations; they did maximum harm to Anglo-American relations at a critical moment in world history, and their general argument and conclusion were completely misleading.

To be sure, Leech (who comes from Pittsburgh and is best known for his occasional syndicated paeans of praise for free enterprise) quoted most of his statistics correctly. While savagely attacking the present British government, he recognized that it has done some good things. He admitted, for example, that the health of the working class is better than ever before, and that the system of socialized medicine is now supported by everyone, including the Conservatives, and is here to stay. But his major thesis, which he expounded over and over, is that "socialism" is responsible for nearly everything that is wrong in Britain. His articles were accompanied by a series of savagely simple cartoons driving home the same point.

Yet everyone, except Leech, who has studied the British situation knows that this is not true. Even if socialism were all that Leech says it is, only a few industries have been nationalized; and they have been under state control too short a time to make much difference one way or the other.

The real cause of Britain's predicament can be put into half a dozen sentences. Her present population of nearly 50 million is at least two and a half times as many people as the natural resources of the British Isles can support. Britain must import about two-thirds of her food and most of the raw materials for her manufactures. Before the war, she did this by investing her money all over the world—at least $14 billion of it—and letting the interest and dividends come home in the form of goods, not money. She also created credits, all over the world, by shipping, insurance, banking and other "invisible items."

During the Second World War, and for the purpose of defeating Hitler, which later also became our own, she sold at least half of her investments abroad, by far the better half (many things could not be sold at all) and at distress prices. She also went into debt about $12 billion. Today she has to go on buying in order not to starve, and at prices which, on the average, have nearly trebled.

In the sterling area, her trade is in balance; but in the dollar area, this is not true. Her problem is made more difficult by the fact that she is the dollar-banker for the whole sterling area, and must solve the exchange problem for all other countries in it.

Geoffrey Crowther, editor of the *Economist*, London, is a conservative highly respected on both sides of the Atlantic, no friend of the Labour Government. Listen to his testimony (in an interview in *US News and World Report*) on some of the points raised by Leech:

Is socialism doing Britain any harm? "I question whether it is doing any real damage. . . . I don't think it is having much effect yet. . . . The [nationalized] industries are still being

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run by very much the same people and in very much the same way that they were before."

Is new private investment being discouraged? "No, not to any very large extent."

Leech in his series says that the British are not working very hard, and that this accounts for part of their trouble. For comment, let us call as witness the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe. The ECE reports that the United Kingdom's industrial production is 31 percent higher than in 1938. The figure for Belgium, so often cited as a model of thrift and hard work, is only 22 percent. The Netherlands' figure is also 22 percent. Italy's is 10 percent lower than prewar.

Are the British not trying hard enough in regard to exports? British exports are 50 percent above the level of 1938. They are 90 percent higher than imports. No other country comes anywhere near this; in Belgium and France, for example, the figure is 18 percent.

Are the British, as Leech suggests, just lying back and letting us take care of them? Marshall Plan aid is used almost entirely for imports. It constitutes only 12 percent of British imports, as against 41 percent of Italy's and 48 percent of those of France. Great Britain is the only Marshall Plan country that is earning a higher proportion of its dollar requirements than before the war. It is doing so even with the pound at $4, which many people consider about 25 percent too high.

Leech makes much of the steep British tax rates, suggesting that they discourage individual initiative, and mentions several times a tax rate of 97.5 percent. He omits to mention, however, that this rate applies only to that part of an individual's net income which is higher than $80,000 a year. In other words, taxation is applied on a sliding scale, just as it is in the US, where we take 91 percent of income over $200,000. Taxes in Great Britain are extremely high, but no one is taxed 97.5 percent of his total income.

In a free democracy, nobody can or should try to prevent Leech from rocking the boat in the middle of a storm, if he wants to. But many will question his right at the same time to point out a lot of mythical sea monsters just over the gunwale.

PEEKSKILL: SECOND ROUND

Nobody emerges with much credit from the Second Battle of Peekskill, which ended with scores of people injured, some of them seriously, and dozens of automobiles damaged, including several belonging to innocent passersby.

The group, most of them certainly Communists, who insisted on holding a song recital at the scene of a disturbance a week earlier, were exercising their constitutional right to assemble peacefully. On the other hand, their advance statements had been so provocative that they came close to incitement to riot, and many of the men who came in chartered buses from New York City, recruited from the Communist-led Fur and Leather Workers' Union, carried clubs and were deployed with military precision by their leader, a former Army officer.

The many hundreds of state police and special deputies assembled at the scene by Governor Dewey totally failed to keep order, once the concert was ended and the crowd began to leave. While it is true that the rioting began a mile away, and extended over a ten-mile area, the police could certainly have prevented most of it if they had tried hard enough. Their extraordinary reluctance to arrest and remove the members of the mob, or to convoy cars and buses after the concert, leaves at least some of them open to a strong suspicion of wanting the concert-goers to be "roughed up a little bit."

Worst of all, of course, were the hoodlums who smashed the windows of cars, overturned vehicles, and would certainly have gone farther if they could. No doubt they think of themselves as democratic Americans defending this country against an alien and totalitarian faith. What they don't see is that by descending to illegal violence they are themselves borrowing totalitarian methods and forfeiting all right to be called Americans at all.

DANGEROUS BILL

Plenty of bad bills get introduced in Congress, but very few are as bad as S. 2311, now before the Senate Judiciary Committee. This is the Mundt-Ferguson-Johnston bill, a substitute for last year's Mundt-Nixon anti-Communist bill. Under its terms, a special Presidential Commission could rule that any organization was subversive, on extremely vague and general grounds. One of these would be failure to turn over its records, including names and addresses of its members, to the Presidential Commission. Another bit of evidence would be the kind of people who are active in the group, and the individuals with whom they associate.

Every organization found subversive would be required to register with the Attorney General. Its members would be forbidden public employment; they could not get passports, or travel abroad. Heavy penalties would lie against individual members for acts committed by their organization, such as failure to register, even though they had no knowledge of these acts, or of the subversive character of the group. No statute of limitations would apply. Says a spokesman for the New York County Lawyers' Association (in a letter to the New York *Times*): "There you have the gravely frightening prospect—all the horrors of a police state and guilt by association, enacted into law so as to save American democracy from totalitarianism!" And the *Times* itself adds:

> It is highly probable that enactment of such a bill as this would merely drive the Communists underground while penalizing a great many law-abiding non-Communists. In any case, measures that impute guilt by association, that resemble bills of attainder, that smack of thought control, are likely to defeat their own purpose. In defending itself against the internal threat of communism our country can ill afford to curtail its own precious and hard-won liberties.

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FROM WEIMAR TO BONN TO WHERE?

by Percy Winner

BETWEEN WEIMAR and Bonn, in point of space, lies soil of a great nation, potentially the greatest in Western Europe. Between Weimar and Bonn, in point of time, lies the greatest tragedy the world has ever known.

The Weimar Republic embodied the hope of the world that the first World War would be the last. If Bonn—the new Western German state now in process of becoming in the provincial town of that name—has a truly deep meaning for the world, it is that a superlative of yesterday may not become a relative of tomorrow, that a third World War may be avoided.

The elections which have recently taken place in the three Western zones of occupation were the first free consultation of the Germans since the *Götterdammerung* of the Weimar Republic. Technically, legalistically, they go back to the past, beyond the nightmare of Nazism. Politically, they point forward to the problem of the West's defense against Soviet Communism.

In appraising the significance of the results of the elections, the official spokesmen of most of the governments of Western Europe have tended to look forward, not backward. But when André François-Poncet, France's civilian high commissioner in Germany, said to the Germans that "we French are the only ones who really understand how to get along with you," there were victims of two German wars of nationalistic aggrandizement who wondered about official attitudes.

The Vatican has established the tone of these official attitudes.

When the Western German voters gave a majority to Right-Center and Right political parties, they spoke for all of Germany in refusing to take "the fatal risk" of embarking on "Communist experiments." The result of the elections was a "new and more serious" setback to the Communists which caused them "bitter pain." For they knew that through their defeat at the polls in the geographical area most exposed to truly intimate contact with Soviet Russia, their "last hope" of capturing Western Europe by non-violent means had collapsed.

This interpretation was set forth in the Holy See's official daily newspaper, the *Osservatore Romano*. The Vatican had good reason to be pleased. The Roman Catholic clergy in Germany was concerned above all with defeating the Communists. For several years the Church has sought to plant seeds in the spiritual (and political) vineyard of the "new Germany," to win souls (and bodies) to make up for the losses suffered in Eastern Europe where the Soviets are trying to create "national churches." Both the Cortile San Damaso and the German hierarchy worked harder to assure the success of Dr. Konrad Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union than such organs of the Church have since the Secretariat of State and the Italian hierarchy coöperated with the Americans to bring Alcide De Gasperi's Christian Democrats to power in April, 1948.

Official America was no less pleased by the results of the German election. Secretary of State Dean Acheson found them "a victory for moderation and common sense." And not unnaturally, for they constituted a politically posthumous success for the policies of General Lucius D. Clay. The general's civilian successor, John J. McCloy, was so gratified by German "common sense" that he favored—at least "in principle"—the participation of the new Western German state in the Strasbourg Council of Europe.

Official Italy could scarcely have been more enthusiastic. De Gasperi took the triumph of his like-minded Christian Democrats as little short of a personal triumph and a political justification. In Spain, Portugal, Greece, Belgium, almost everywhere in the Europe of the West, officials found in varying ways and degrees similar justifications. Even official France was not displeased. First Foreign Minister Robert Schuman, then François-Poncet, expressed cautious approval.

Only Whitehall's voice was missing from the jubilant chorus; and there were obvious reasons why the British Labour Government might not be too pleased by a Western Germany run by a combination of the Christian Democrats, the Free German Party and the German Party.

On the Continent too, among men without any stake in the retention of political power, men both of the Right and of the Left, there were doubts. Even those who agreed with the Vatican's view did not go so far, were less hopeful. Few Western Europeans, even among the Communists and fellow-travelers, denied that the result of the election was a defeat for Communist hopes. The questions were not about the defeat but about the victory.

Was this kind of Communist defeat—a defeat in which the Social Democrats vied with the Right in the most extreme form of nationalist propaganda, in which the enemy often seemed to be the Western occupying

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powers rather than the Communists—also a victory for the hopes and possibilities of democracy in either Germany or Western Europe as a whole? Was a triumph of a New Order of the Right in Germany also a promise of progress for a viable order of political and social justice and economic common sense?

Acheson dismissed the outpourings of political poison which featured the campaign as "the normal manifestations of the democratic process." But the English, who have a longer and more intimate experience with the Germans, were less sure. "If," said the London *New Statesman and Nation*, "Western Germany voted less for any positive policy than for the German flag, its colors may be fairly said to stand now for the strength of the black international, the desire for revenge over red Russia, and the lure of American gold."

And the London *Economist*, deeply conservative and a leader of the present struggle to force the Labour Government away from Socialism, wrote:

> The electoral campaign can have given little comfort to genuine democrats anywhere. It was conducted on all sides in an atmosphere of hysteria. All the most unpleasant aspects of a not very attractive people came to the surface. Germany's repellent record in the international affairs of the last seventy years was forgotten. History began in 1945 and everything was the fault of the occupying powers. All parties, including the solid democrat parties, outdid each other in abuse of the Allies, and at times the voices of Dr. Adenauer, of Dr. Schumacher and of General Remer, who helped Hitler to crush the 1944 revolt, were indistinguishable. If this is the mold behind German politics, can it be wise to transfer more power to a German Government? On the contrary, does not the electoral campaign prove that more vigilance, not less, is necessary?

Already Dr. Fritz Oellers of the FDP, the Free German Party which is to be part of Adenauer's Rightist coalition, has advocated restoration of the Kaiser's and the Junkers' black, white and red flag. He also has called for the adoption of *Deutschland über Alles* as the "national" anthem. And close behind the scenes the fanatics of the post-Nazi German Party, also to be part of the coalition, are using such self-exculpations as General Franz Halder's book on Hitler as the material of a new myth: Hitler lost the war; the German High Command didn't; the German people didn't.

Among liberals in England, the American willingness to use the new "German new order" as an instrument against Soviet Russia is seen as a repetition of the tragic error of the Vichy policy in 1942, the Badoglio policy in 1943 and, worst of all, the general anti-progressive stand of 1945. Surprisingly, there are so-called liberals in France who swallow their distaste and go along with both the State Department and the Vatican in hailing the German election returns. Frenchmen who resist Paul Reynaud's attacks on *dirigisme* and *planisme* seem willing to take their chances in Germany with Dr. Ludwig Erhard, the extremist apostle of old-fashioned free enterprise, who has dominated Western Germany's economy under the Clay regime and will now go even further as Adenauer's economic right-hand man. They regard with equanimity, even with some satisfaction, Adenauer's refusal to coöperate with Dr. Kurt Schumacher and the Social Democrats.

The underlying reasons for this attitude go beyond party politics; they derive from the recent intensification of a new variety of French nationalism; and from a growing increase in bitterness, on a national scale, about the economic (hence political) relations between France and Great Britain.

Until last year, the British—both of the Left and Right—were complaining that the French, as always the mavericks in European affairs, were failing to get into line with the "new order" of Western Europe that the Americans, with close British coöperation, were trying to bring into being.

Now the situation is reversed. It is the French who are complaining about the British and their unwillingness to learn or to change. Even French progressives and liberals—men of the Socialist Party—have angry things to say about Sir Stafford Cripps. His austerity, once admired from a distance, is now said to be masochistic and disastrous. Worse still, his policies are said to be aimed at the subordination of France's (and Western Europe's) interests so that the British may try to regain their world power, both political and economic.

Such an attitude in France cuts through party lines. The men who profess it are privately of the opinion that the "unity" of a Rightist Western Germany may well turn out to be a disservice to the unity of Western Europe as a whole, may indeed prevent such a unity from coming into being. They recognize that a nationalist Western Germany may be the master—by power of blackmail—rather than the servant of the comity of the West.

Nevertheless, they also believe that such a Germany may block British "ambitions," may in the long run prevent the consummation of any such morganatic marriage of American and British interests as Winston Churchill proposed for British and French interests in 1940.

Whether or not such ideas have any basis—there are of course quite opposite reports also coming from

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Washington to the French *cuisine politique*—François-Poncet is not the man to take them lightly. He has had close personal connections with the *Comité des Forges*, the great French industrial combine. He speaks for those Frenchmen in finance, industry and government who look forward hopefully to Franco-German international cartels, with the French in over-all control. His speech and press conference at Mainz after the elections were plain statements that the Germans of the Right could go far if they knew "their place." The French goal, he said, was the advancement of a "new Germany."

The Saar, if this view prevails, is to be "independent" but economically linked with France—a euphemism for political control. The implication of François-Poncet's important declarations was that the French, "the only ones who really understand how to get along" with the Germans, would also know how to judge goodness and badness on the scale of whether Germans were pro-French or anti-French. An elaborate military demonstration of the sort that would have pleased the Junkers (and did please General Charles de Gaulle's *gloire et grandeur* proponents) was staged by the French to punctuate their new high commissioner's words. Soldiers understand soldiers, and the France of the *Comité des Forges* understands the Ruhr magnates who stand behind the new German government.

Not without relevancy was one of Adenauer's first public statements. He warned all Western German politicians of all parties to have nothing to do with any political advances that might be made by Rudolph Nadolny, former German Ambassador in Moscow. The reason has little to do with anti-Communism. Nadolny happens to be the spokesman of another important group of German Rightist big businessmen who have been flirting with Moscow, even as the extreme Right and the extreme Left in Germany flirted with each other in the dying days of Weimar.

Naturally, Frenchmen of the Left have greater reservations about a "deal" between a nominally Third Force France and an openly Rightist Western Germany. Still, the effects of the wartime collaboration with the Germans during the occupation—the psychological if not directly political effects—are deeper than most Americans realize. Moreover, there are plenty of Frenchmen of the Left—ardent resisters during the occupation—whose patriotism, specifically nationalist patriotism, tells them that things have changed. They have come recently to the belief that *either* Britain *or* Western Germany, not both, can be "saved" economically to the extent of becoming *the* great Western European economic power.

The struggle among the beneficiaries of America has become so intense—witness the objections to granting Britain's full requests for ECA allocations—that these Frenchmen believe they can do bettter with a revived Germany than with a newly strengthened Britain.

The irony of a France, both of the Left and of the Right, willing to go along with a Germany-first policy is paralleled by the paradox of an England, also both of the Left and Right, willing to cajole the Bonn state as the lesser of two evils. Even before the election returns were tabulated, the Leftist *New Statesman,* which loathes Erhard's economic policies, which views with alarm the complete blocking of nationalization of the Ruhr or any other step toward the mildest Socialism in Western Germany, was advocating the admittance of the Bonn state to the Strasbourg Council.

Now the Rightist *Economist* has put aside a running fight with the *New Statesman* about domestic affairs and expressed some doubt whether "the peculiarly naïve brand of laissez faire professed by the Right in Germany [can] provide the answer for the country's phenomenal problems of economic readjustment." In its way, this amounts to British Tories echoing the warning of Schumacher against a German "bourgeois bloc that will defend property at the cost of the working people" and permit both "a drop in industrial production" and a "considerable increase in the number of the unemployed" during the coming winter.

And the *Economist* comes to a conclusion about the policy to be followed toward Bonn not very different from the one of its domestic opponent. The solution? It is to yield to the Frankenstein of German nationalism that America (with British help) has created. The magazine says:

> The only safe policy for the Western powers . . . is to accept the Bonn government into their own community and to abolish all save the final essential controls on military rearmament. . . . The Occupation Statute should be drastically revised. . . . Economic controls should be completely removed and Western Germany brought into the Organization for European Economic Coöperation. . . . The task of the Military Security Board should be reduced to preventing the production of certain vital products. . . .

Six months ago, even three months ago, let's say at the time of the Paris meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers, some such program might have been the basis of inter-Western European economic planning. But the Old Guard in the Pentagon Building and behind the White House scenes was stronger than the Fair Dealing faction; the men who said that military and strategic planning had to take precedence over economic planning and coöperation had their way. In England Ernest Bevin's *machtpolitik* saviors of the British

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Empire and Lombard Street's allies of Wall Street had their way against the Socialist planners.

No action was taken when it was possible to check the rise of German nationalism. On the contrary, the thick fog of an undiscriminating, unrealistic and unintelligent anti-Communism at any price closed off sight of what was really developing in the Germany of the Cold War. And now what might have been a deal between the Western masters and their German servants may become—if it is possible at all—a yielding to the mastery of German blackmail. A cyst full of deadly nationalist poison has developed in the vital region of Western Europe's industrial (hence, war-making) power.

Whether it is too late to excise it depends—as do all things in the world of today—on the United States and its policies. Whether Bonn goes where Weimar went depends on American action—quick action—to put aside stacking up the guns and to get to work on the post-Marshall task of planning Western Europe's future. The time has come for economic policies that openly recognize and take into account the political factors—and dangers—in the non-Communist world as well as the military threats of the Communist world.

FARMER-WORKER LOVE FEAST

by Harold Wolff

ARE THE INTERESTS of farmers and industrial workers similar, or opposed? For generations, both politicians and economists have been debating that question, without ever presenting a conclusive answer. Economists often argue that the workers want cheap food and high wages, which means high prices for manufactured products; whereas the farmer wants high prices for the food he produces, and low prices for the manufactured products he buys. The politician usually tries to resolve this dilemma by shouting loudly that it does not exist, or by making the quite legitimate point that both farmer and worker benefit when the national economy is in balance at a high level, with general prosperity.

The New York State Democratic Committee bravely grasped the nettle recently with a one-day farmer-labor conference at Syracuse. For several reasons, it has national significance. First, it was important enough to command the presence of Secretaries Tobin of Labor and Brannan of Agriculture. Second, these two gentlemen will speak at three or four other regional conferences in the near future, and perhaps at a large number of them, in various parts of the country. Third, it is clear that discussions at this level and on this subject have become a major Democratic Party policy.

In a Damon and Pythias routine, the Secretary of Labor argued eloquently for the Brannan Plan, under which subsidies would be paid directly to farmers on major crops as a substitute for the price-support plan now in operation, which is reflected—and doubly and trebly reflected—in what the consumer finally pays. The Secretary of Agriculture responded in kind. He talked about his own plan, too; but he stressed the fact that it means lower-priced food for the worker, while maintaining prosperity for the farmer.

Just as impressive as the remarks by the bigwigs, and in some ways more so, were things said by rank-and-file Democrats in one or the other of the categories which were under the microscope. Listen, for instance, to tall, graying Jack Regan, representing the AFL Plumbers' Union:

> We are 100 percent behind the government's price-support policy. Farmers are fully entitled to this assistance, in justice. This policy in the end helps not only the farmer but, in the long run, the city worker. Workers in the city have unemployment insurance and social security and farmers have price-support legislation. It all amounts to the same thing and it contributes to the well-being and welfare of all Americans.

And here, on the other hand, is testimony from dirt-farmer A. D. Hakes:

> It is clear to us farmers that labor must receive a reasonable wage with steady employment if we are to have a market for the products of our farm at a price that will give us the cost of production plus a reasonable profit. We believe that you are our best market. We also believe that we are your best market for the products of your shops.

After all the speechifying was over, Paul Smith, a dairy farmer (and, incidentally, without any known political affiliation), moved that a permanent committee be set up to continue the work of the meeting.

With the exception of the New York *Times,* the meeting got shockingly bad reporting, not only in the local Syracuse newspapers but throughout the country. This may have been partly a policy decision—the reporters present were nearly all local men, representing heavily Republican upstate New York areas. It was

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probably also sheer ignorance, typified by the reporter who asked plaintively, late in the day, "What the hell *is* the Brannan Plan, anyway?"

Among those who should, and probably do, realize the importance of the meeting are the leaders of the GOP. In the past, the Republicans have always relied heavily on the votes of conservative farmers in the North and the Middle West. If the Democrats can bring about a real coalition of farm and labor, the GOP plight will be worse than ever.

PROGRESSIVES AND COMMUNISTS

by Gus Tyler

SUBTERRANEAN RUMBLINGS indicate that dramatic changes may soon take place in the Progressive Party, as well as in the officially admitted line of the Communists. This is especially true of that line as reflected in the Communist-led unions in the CIO, which face almost certain expulsion at the next CIO national convention.

The rift in the Progressive Party represents a deepening split between those who follow the Communist Party line under all circumstances, and those who do not. Among the latter must, of course, be reckoned Henry Wallace himself, leader of the Progressive Party. The new developments may have substantial political consequences. Wallace, last year, polled 500,000 votes in New York State, just half of his national total. He is being mentioned as a possible American Labor Party candidate for Senator to run against former Governor Herbert Lehman on the Democratic and Liberal Party ticket, and the Republican candidate.

The new split has been represented dramatically by the issue of Trotskyism. Eighteen Trotskyites in Minnesota were sent to prison under the Smith Act, the same act which is the basis for the current trial of the Communist leaders in a federal court. The Communists are vociferous in denouncing the Smith Act as applied to themselves; but they have never been willing to admit that it was just as wicked when applied to their mortal enemies, the Trotskyites. At the recent Communist-influenced conference on the Bill of Rights in New York City, Thomas Emerson of the Yale Law School, a Progressive, tried to get a resolution passed demanding pardons for the Trotskyites. He was supported, not only by other well-known Progressives such as Paul Kern, Professor Harlow Shapley and Professor Frederick Schuman, but, in a letter, by Henry Wallace.

In spite of the prestige of these names, the resolution was defeated. Paul Robeson, faithful party-liner, said the Trotskyites "are still the allies of Fascism." Communist Councilman Benjamin Davis added that "free speech is not for those who come among us as disrupters."

Further evidence of the split among the Progressives is the fight as to who shall be American Labor Party candidate for Borough President of Manhattan. Whoever he is, he won't win; yet a furious competition is raging among candidates for the nomination supported by the Communists and the non-Communists.

Other signs of dissension:

James Imbrie, Progressive Party candidate for Governor in New Jersey this year, has resigned from the National Non-Partisan Committee for the Defense of the Rights of the Twelve Communists now on trial. He did so in protest against Communist efforts to bring pressure on Judge Medina.

Dr. Bella Dodd was formerly one of the most important women leaders of the Communist Party and a member of the National Committee. She has now been expelled, and she says, in a recent interview, that the cause was her disagreement with the leadership on its "determination to maintain the Communist opposition in the CIO at all costs." This policy was reaffirmed only a few days ago at a conference in New York of CIO unions with Communist leadership at which these unions virtually defied the CIO to expel them.

But what these unions are really planning is shown by various individual actions. Many months ago, locals of the United Electrical Workers began to drop all references to the CIO from their publicity matter. Harry Bridges has accepted the presidency of the union of seamen and dockers in the World Federation of Trade Unions, though the CIO is hostile to the WFTU. The Marine Cooks and Stewards Union altered a union resolution, to strike out all reference to continued loyalty to the CIO.

Next month, the CIO will undoubtedly expel the unions under Communist control, and these will then set up a labor federation of their own, like the one they had twenty years ago. What will be left of the Progressive Party remains to be seen, but it will surely be a far cry from the party that was hopefully envisaged in the spring of 1948.

Gus Tyler is political-action director of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Charity Begins at Home*

FROM ACROSS THE ATLANTIC, Dictator Franco continues to hold out both hands, palms up, begging for American alms. From across the Pacific, the would-be-again dictator, Chiang Kai-shek, imitates him.

It might be suggested to Franco that in Juan March, Spain boasts probably the richest man in Europe, with a fortune estimated to exceed $500 million. The utmost that Franco could hope to beg from the United States, in addition to the $25 million already loaned by the pious Chase National Bank of New York, would be trifling in comparison with the wealth, much of it ill-gotten, that March has on deposit in various countries. As to Chiang Kai-shek, I suggest that he, along with members of his family and his favorites, might consider disgorging some of the hundreds of millions that have stuck to his fingers and are on deposit in the United States, Argentina and elsewhere. Perhaps if Franco and Chiang should ask the United States simply to match the sums that they and their lightfingered cronies could produce, there might be more disposition on our part to help them.

An effort has been made in the Senate to gut the ECA appropriation bill by sluicing large sums to both Dictator Franco and Dictator Chiang. Senator McCarran of Nevada, always alert to raid the Treasury for benefits for his constituents, has supported these burglarious attempts. If we give more money to Chiang Kai-shek, a large part of it will be spent for silver, and it just happens that, even if it has never occurred to Senator McCarran, Nevada has much silver to sell. Senator McCarran is actively supported by the ineffable Bridges of New Hampshire. Senator Knowland of California, as water boy for these twain, represents a state that has a great commercial stake in China.

On August 15, the Chinese Embassy in Washington sent a detailed memorandum to the State Department, insisting upon immediate aid in the trifling sum of $401 million. This *pourboire* would keep the prehensile fingers of the Kuomintang grafters busy for six months when, of course, the Generalissimo would be graciously willing to accept from us another equal, or larger, amount. I have seen an itemization of the proposed expenditure of at least $150 million of the amount requested. It would go for ordnance, ammunition and quartermaster supplies, petroleum products and engineers' equipment, etc., as well as for Chiang's air force and navy. In addition, we are being urged to equip 20 model Chinese divisions, plus 40 lightly equipped divisions, or 60 in all, including amphibious forces. Chiang also wants a large number of American officers to "supervise operations."

It would not be surprising if the ECA bill passed with a Knowland amendment earmarking at least $100 million for China. This would be the price under duress for any bill at all. It would be legislation by blackmail, with which the American people are all too familiar.

At the end of this road would lie the further enrichment by us of Chinese crooks in high places. At the end of this road would lie greater resentment of American intervention in the Chinese civil war—resentment by Loyalists as well as by Communists. At the end of this road might also lie the armed interposition by us, for which Chiang is pleading. And that might be the prelude to World War III.

Secretary of State Acheson was right in countering the reckless representations of Representative Walter H. Judd of Minnesota. It is almost past belief, the credit that will sometimes be given to a man who pretends an authority that he does not have. Judd is as wrong as he can be on the subject of China. He is as wrong as Senator Pat McCarran, than whom no one can be more wrong. Judd's pronouncements on China have been given greater credence than they are entitled to because of the prefix "Missionary" to his name. Judd is not a "gentleman of the cloth." He was a medical missionary, years ago, whose misstatements have caught up with him in the past and will do so again.

The American people will not tolerate meddling in the internal affairs of Franco's Spain or of Chiang's China. As to the latter, we should either stay out altogether or throw in everything that we have, regardless of the cost in treasure and lives. We should either abstain from this internecine war in a foreign land or go in prepared to drive back the victorious Communist hordes and spend the many years necessary to conquer a country that has never yet been conquered. Even if China could be wrested from its people, it would be at an enormous cost for an indefinite number of years. The only certain result would be that the expense, added to the obligations that we have already assumed in other parts of the world, would break the economy of the United States.

It is a reckless fool's errand upon which Judd and Knowland, McCarran and Bridges would launch their country.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE FRUITS OF MYSTICISM

by Y. H. Krikorian

THOMAS MERTON in his widely read *The Seven Storey Mountain* gave a moving account of his conversion to Roman Catholicism and of his entrance as a monk into a Trappist monastery. In the present book, we have the fruits of his mystical contemplation. But for a single reference to Marxian Communism and another to the atomic bomb, the reflections might be those of a monk of the Middle Ages. Merton's moral values, religious attitude and complete absence of scientific outlook place him with the mystics of the past. In spirit this book is in line with the *Cautelas* and the *Avisos* of St. John of the Cross, the *Meditationes* of Guigo the Carthusian, and similar books of contemplation. What keeps him from wishing to be compared with the authors of these classic mystical works is his genuine humility.

SEEDS OF CONTEMPLATION, by Thomas Merton (New Directions; $3).

Merton's mystical contemplation is within the framework of a tradition that may be said to have begun with St. Augustine and then to have run through the mystical poet Dante and later through mystics like St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross. The founders of this tradition preferred to speak of contemplation rather than of mystical experience. Merton shows, on the whole, the same preference. In comparatively recent times, however, the term "mysticism," which has had a long history, seems to have been pretty well established to cover Merton's type of religious experience, though the word has other uses, some of them doubtful.

What is important about this tradition is that all its representatives speak of an inner experience they have had that is taken to be incommunicable and non-sensory. Sometimes they describe their experience as "hearing vision" or "seeing sound." The nearest analogy to it—judging from the terms they employ—would seem to be human love at its highest. What is more important to observe about this tradition is that all its followers have claimed contact with a transcendent Reality. St. Augustine early formulated this claim: "My mind in the flash of a trembling glance came to the Absolute Being—That Which Is." The Augustinian Absolute, largely Neo-Platonic in character, was gradually Christianized through the ages and came to be more and more closely identified with the supernatural God of the Roman Catholic Church.

Merton's object of contemplation is this Christian conception of Absolute Being. His contemplation leads him to the desire for identification with his object of worship. "Our only sorrow, if sorrow be possible at all," he writes, "is the awareness that we ourselves have a separate existence." On the highest level of contemplation "the separate entity that was *you* suddenly disappears and nothing is left but . . . love identified with Love." In this state one does not have experience, but becomes "Experience." This is a state of ecstasy. The union with the godhead is thus, for mystics, not an abstract, philosophic unity but a deep emotional identification—an escape from the supposed illusion of separation.

The question arises, How does one attain the knowledge and vision of the mystics' object of worship when this object is said to exist beyond the world? For Merton, as for many other mystics, the first requirement is faith. But this faith is not a conviction based "on rational analysis," nor is it the result "of scientific evidence." According to this tradition, one can believe what one cannot know. One's assent is not based on empirical evidence; one accepts the "truth as revealed." Merton almost takes joy in claiming that "the very obscurity of faith is an argument of its perfection." Yet faith is only the first step. The final step is intuition. To gain intuition of the object of worship one must pass through a period of physical and moral training. One then "apprehends the Truth, not in distinct and clear-cut definitions but in the limpid obscurity of a single intuition that unites all dogmas in one simple Light"—that is, without the medium of concepts, without the use of symbols or language, without the intervention of material objects.

What should one's attitude be toward these exalted claims of the mystics, especially toward the claim that they enjoy vision of a transcendent Reality? The issue depends mainly on how far one is willing to carry the verifiable, empirical methods of science in one's search for truth. Those who think that in certain areas of experience faith or mystic intuitions are superior to scientific procedures as means to knowledge might be willing to accept the mystics' claims; on the other hand, those who wish to carry the objective procedures of science into every area of experience, including religion, must reject the unsharable, unverifiable claims of the mystics, however inspiring they may be. Merton is not at all disturbed by the issue raised here. Without giving any reason, and rather cavalierly, he disposes of "rational analysis" and "scientific evidence" as having nothing to do with our quest of really worthwhile truths. Merton's poetic and sincerely devout nature is sensitive to many significant values of morals and religion, but it is insensitive to the critical values of science.

Yet those who find the verifiable

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procedures of science the most fruitful method for seeking truth need not discard mysticism as something of no consequence. In recent times, James, Leuba, Starbuck, Godferneaux and Freud have thrown a great deal of light on the nature of the mystical experience. The field has been of special interest to modern psychologists because, on the whole, they have been more aware than the earlier rationalistic psychologists of the primacy of the impulsive, irrational aspects of human behavior. Despite many variations, certain general conclusions have emerged from these studies.

First, the mystical experience, like all other types of human experience, is functional in nature: it is an unconscious effort at adjustment, at controlling life. It usually begins with anxiety, restlessness and a sense of alienation—these feelings are sometimes due to sexual disturbances—and it ends in relaxation, joy and peace. Second, the mystical experience involves a deep sense of unification, as if the subject and object had been fused. It is vivid, intense and rich in ineffable qualities, sometimes attaining a state of ecstasy and hypnosis. Third, the mystical experience, like all other human experiences, has a physiological and sensuous basis. To heighten their ecstasy many resort to fasting and vigil, and some to hair shirts and beds of spikes. Despite their claim of independence from the physical and sensuous elements, mystics often speak of spiritual marriage, of tender embraces. Finally, the mystical experience has a social and cultural setting. The object to which intense feelings are attached is determined by the values of the society to which the individual mystic belongs.

If this analytical picture is a true one, then certain important conclusions follow. That there is such a thing as mystical experience need not be denied, but the claim that the mystic is in contact with a transcendent Reality may be questioned. What is empirically given in the mystical experience are certain human drives in heightened form and in a given cultural setting, the result of which is sometimes harmful and sometimes beneficial. What is not empirically given is the superimposed theological interpretations.

The fruits of mysticism may flower independently of supernaturalism. Merton's object of worship belongs to the culture of an older era; it has no relevance to modern life. A modern consecrated soul—not unlike Merton, yet without his supernaturalism—may rightly find a mystic's contentment through devotion to the ideals that have their basis in human nature and the culture of his time, the ideals being, moreover, such as his reason can approve. And such a mystic may have, too, all the ecstasy in his love of human beings which Merton claims to experience toward a superhuman Being.

Apart from the larger philosophic issues of mysticism, there are valuable insights in Merton's reflections:

> Hurry ruins saints as well as artists.
>
> At the root of all war is fear; not so much the fear men have of one another as the fear they have of *everything.*
>
> It is in loneliness that the deepest activities begin.

One might read helpfully and inspirationally these and many other sayings of Merton without necessarily accepting the general framework of his reflections.

Y. H. Krikorian is chairman of the Department of Philosophy of the College of the City of New York.

SARTRE ON THE JEWS

ANTI-SEMITE AND JEW, by Jean-Paul Sartre, Translated by George J. Becker (Shocken Books; $2.75).

JEAN-PAUL SARTRE hates anti-Semitism and is moved by the most friendly feelings toward the Jewish people. These feelings he expresses in three studies. In the first he examines the anti-Semite, in the second the "inauthentic" Jew, and in the third—and much the shortest—the "authentic" Jew.

He finds the anti-Semite to be an individual unsure of himself, afraid of reason, anxious to obtain a place in the sun and to create for himself a basis of existence in which he feels secure. In anti-Semitism such an individual makes a total choice of an attitude toward life. His irrational hatred of the very idea of *Jew* fills his whole being and affects his whole outlook, resulting in a special interpretation of history, politics and everything else.

There is doubtless truth in this psychological study of the type that becomes the fascist thug and gangster, the local leader and the yes-man to the makers of fascist policy. But it is still truer that in it Sartre reveals the inadequacy of the method of public psychoanalysis when applied to the examination of sociological problems and its complete impotence to suggest a course of action. Indeed, when Sartre eventually discusses these matters the result is hesitant, banal and unconvincing.

It might still be argued that the investigation is at least original, that it throws light on something, even if we are not clear what. But no such arguments can be alleged in defense of the gross impropriety and impertinence of the second study, that of the "inauthentic" Jew. The term itself is indecent, however benevolently intended, since it is made to cover almost the whole of the Jewish population living in the Gentile world. Sartre again follows the psychoanalytic method. Every weakness, every misfortune, every mistake a Jew may make in his dilemmas and difficulties is fully and even ghoulishly described. The result is much as if an analyst were to conduct his interviews at a cocktail party or in a crowded Pullman.

Sartre appears to be under the impression that the Jewish traits he catalogues with such evident enjoyment are the unique trophies of his own perspicacity. In so far as they are accurate—and this is by no means true of his whole picture—they are well-known not only to those Gentiles who have close contacts with Jews in social or business relationships but to those Jews who are able to look objectively at their own situation. Hitherto both

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groups have had the decency to keep their knowledge to themselves. This reticence is no more due to their desire to behave like ostriches than are the psychoanalyst's private interviews and carefully locked files due to his having a nasty mind or being unwilling to face facts. It is simply a recognition of the fact that men are still entitled to privacy, and that without mutual respect for privacy, social intimacy and coöperation take on a nightmare quality.

The third study—of what Sartre calls the "authentic" Jew—reveals yet another weakness. It is too much the habit of men who have become eminent in one field to believe that their views in other fields automatically have an importance for the public. Lesser men expect attention only when they have made a study of a particular subject. Sartre's knowledge of Jewish history seems confined to a set of clichés, and he appears unacquainted with either a religious Jew or an intelligent Zionist. His "authentic" Jew is therefore a phantasm of his own imagination, which is just as well, since the only intelligent act Sartre's "authentic" Jew could perform would be to commit an authentic suicide.

JAMES PARKES

The Reverend Mr. James Parkes is the author of many books on Jews and anti-Semitism, among which are The Jewish Question, An Enemy of the People: Antisemitism *and* God and Human Progress.

SLEEP OF CATS

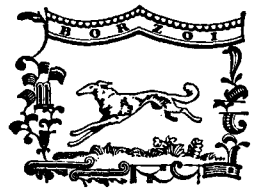
THE TWELVE SEASONS: A PERPETUAL CALENDAR, by Joseph Wood Krutch (William Sloane Associates; $3).

IT IS DIFFICULT to convey the charm, to identify the quality of this book. There is the obvious temptation to put it firmly in the tradition of nature books and to classify Joseph Wood Krutch as a latter-day version of that Thoreau about whom he recently published so understanding a study. The book is full of curious learning concerning the lives and habits of insects unknown by name or appearance to the general reader (including this one). Quite unobtrusively, human morals are drawn from the autumn doings of squirrels or the long sleep of cats in February, or the configuration of a snowflake. For all the sturdy rationality of Krutch's mind, one is reminded often of Burton or Thomas Browne. This is the work, one also says to oneself, of a gifted amateur botanist, a week-end astronomer, a part-time zoölogist.

But it is clearly something more. It is the year's balance sheet drawn up by an accountant who is a poet and a mind. It is the poet and the mind in Krutch and the fusion, never jarring, of the two, that render his book distinctive. Delightful as is the curious learning, the sharp perception, what one carries away is an impression of a sound naturalist, in the philosophical rather than in the merely botanical and biological sense. The twelve chapters constitute an essay on what the world means to one who, with both passion and clarity, has watched nature's movements through many annual cycles.

The specific charm of the book is likewise difficult to define, though almost any random page makes it evident. Krutch has always written convincingly and with a modest wit; before reading this volume I do not think I should have deliberately used the word poetic for his writing. But here the whole mood, however punctuated by shrewd analysis, is celebration. The celebration has its tragic moments. In the very paragraph in which the author conveys vividly the quality of rapture in a silent walk on high-piled winter snows by moonlight late on a lonely night, he reflects on the revelation it gives of that frozen silence in which, long after humanity has ceased to disturb its silence, the earth may lifelessly continue.

The book is filled with a delight in the whole natural scene, in the whole natural year which begins in March, not the calendar year which begins on January first for accidental and amusing historical reasons connected with the Roman Saturnalia. It is filled with



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vignettes which document that delight, what one may call the perpetual anecdote of recurrent vegetative and animal life. Not "April with its golden laughter" does Krutch sing, but April in which the *Hyla Crucifer,* the peeper, announces spring. In May, he notes the grotesque life cycle of the insect Meloë who "plans," most elaborately and absurdly, for the survival of progeny it will never know.

He cites the careful, instinctive provision made by animals in the autumn, their hibernations, their flights from winter. These little-observed facts lead Krutch to what is really his preoccupation throughout the twelve chapters, the significance for a rational man of, not the spectacle, but the setting of nature which, for all the distraction by machines and cities, is man's home, the condition of his fate. He reflects on the sense of kinship with all living things, and that men in cities have lost that sense. He speculates on what there is to follow in Nature, the scene of so much wantonness and cruelty, and also of so much foresight, harmony and precision.

He philosophizes on the nature of animal life to which man is so closely related that only by awareness of it can he regard the world as other than alien. Nature is not soothing; it is not good, it is not, in the human sense, moral. But it is full of order (except for life itself which is a kind of rebellious spontaneity, as Krutch sees it), full of beauty, comeliness and of the sovereign miracle of existing at all.

Long ago Krutch set down in *The Modern Temper* the grounds for despair he found in the world that science revealed for our belief. He now finds, if not grounds for hope, basis for calmness, for serenity and even for delight in the awareness of nature. Somewhat like Bergson, Krutch finds machinery, geometry, mechanism, abstraction, regimentation the enemies of life. His book reminds us with quiet lyricism of life itself which in the cosmic and native sense the city-oriented have forgotten.

IRWIN EDMAN

THE ASYLUM AS PRISON

THE WORLD NEXT DOOR, by Fritz Peters (Farrar, Straus; $3).

THERE ARE, no doubt, only a limited number of customers for the reminiscences of discharged patients from mental hospitals. But before the subject palls, better books than *The World Next Door* may be written in the genre. Better books *have* been written: one recalls particularly the short stories of Anna Kavan which conveyed so terrifyingly the hallucinations of the disordered mind. The present book is not in that class. It doesn't really exploit its material imaginatively for the purposes of fiction; it doesn't recreate the experience. True, it is written as a novel—"all the names and characters are fictitious"—but that is merely an arbitrary (and probably not the most fortunate) form chosen for recounting an "actual experience." And the interest of the book, which is considerable, lies precisely in the authority of that experience. Fortunately, Peters wrote the book in the first person, so that it retains much of the directness of a report.

David Mitchell is confined by his family to a mental hospital for veterans. The reader knows that he is a comparatively young man who has been in the war and that he lives with his mother and stepfather, but nothing else of his background—nothing, even, of the onset and nature of his illness. During the initial and acute stage he is restrained in the dreaded "pack room." This part of the book is written exactly as it might have been recalled by the patient.

But the greater part of the book concerns the young man's convalescence in the ward, his relations with his fellow patients, the doctors and the attendants, various treatments, experiments in occupational therapy and the progress of his recovery. Most of the time he is sufficiently conscious of his predicament to describe it and deliberate upon it. Its elements are apparently routine, and although he describes instances of obtuseness and even brutality on the part of attendants and nurses, Peters' design is not served by sensationalism.

The most striking and persistent theme of the book is the oppressive *sense* of confinement experienced by the patients in the hospital. For David Mitchell (and for the inmates of the hospital generally) the asylum is a prison; it exists not to protect the patient but to protect society. A spirit of bitter antagonism exacerbates the inevitable sense of alienation suffered by the patients, and, to the confined, commitment is "the final attack of society upon an individual."

JOHN FARRELLY

THEATRE: Vicious Cycle

TO SAY that the theatre is a collective enterprise may sound arty. But unless this is recognized the theatre will soon cease to be either an art or a business. When a major symphony orchestra, playing to capacity all season long, shows a yearly deficit, no one denounces the loss as a business failure. This does not signify, however, that when a play runs to packed houses for a year and doesn't pay off its cost that the venture necessarily spells art.

Present conditions demand that theatre practice be integrated not only artistically but organizationally and economically as well. Many playwrights and directors will approve this statement, under the supposition that what I have in mind is the elimination of certain onerous rulings made by the stagehands' and similar unions. But playwrights have no right to thrust accusing fingers at the humbler workers of the craft because, organizationally speaking, the playwrights stand as much outside the theatre's interests as do the others. No one is to blame: the theatre will be sick unless *all* its people are joined in a common organizational setup which views theatre as a

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whole and not as a competition of rival interests.

When a playwright brings his script to a producer today he begins a chain of exploitation in which each link vies with the others. If the playwright is prominent or if he and his agent can convince the producers that their script is a valuable property, playwright and agent will insist that the best (most expensive) director, the best designer and the biggest star be engaged for it. The best director will demand as his fee what is virtually a producer's share in the profits, and will encourage the expensive designer to be as lavish as possible so that the production will impress a naïve public that what it is getting is truly superior. The cast must also be "tops," so that actors will be chosen for minor roles at salaries that once were paid to leading players. Costs mount to the point where the production will be operated at an intake which allows for a profit of no more than two or three thousand dollars a week for a non-musical play —which means that a play doing sell-out business can hardly redeem its cost for at least six months.

The consequence is that backers who once regarded themselves as gamblers, if not businessmen, unwittingly and unwillingly find themselves playing the role of philanthropists. Theatre owners today are creating an artificial shortage of houses so that rents can be kept high, while producers and playwrights—unorganized in relation to the rest of the theatre—actually avoid any resistance or even overt verbal criticism of the real-estate interests lest they find difficulty in getting their attractions into the few houses that still remain or find themselves excluded from the houses on the road, where the theatres are held in monopoly by a single firm.

Theatres are more readily available when a play has the protection of a "name star," and ridiculous salaries including a share of the profits are demanded by Hollywood actors. This means that a promising stage actor is encouraged to forsake the theatre to become a Hollywood name in the theatre. And plays must often close prematurely if the name star decides to leave a show after a six-months' run.

When experimental off-Broadway groups begin to show signs of popularity, they are immediately "investigated" and their functioning rendered difficult on the grounds that they constitute a threat to "legitimate" show business in which "experiments" —such as the production of an O'Casey play, for example—are held to be impossible risks. But the discouragement of such experimental theatre —not only in the formal sense of groups committed to "special" plays, but in the sense of anything that does not pretend to compete with "South Pacific"—ultimately means a theatre that kills off all creative endeavor.

The theatre as anything but a series of extravagant private adventures exists so little that even in the matter of public relations—publicity for the theatre as differentiated from publicity for a single show—hardly anything is undertaken. To conduct a successful publicity campaign for the theatre as an institution, the coöperation of all guilds, unions and associations connected with the stage is indispensable, and a factual interdependence must be maintained. But almost all these groups are at present obviously more aware of their separateness than they are of their mutual needs.

Not to be a hit on Broadway is tantamount to moral disgrace, so that everyone engaged in Broadway business seeks to perfect the technique of success. That technique is always associated with the status quo. The Broadway status quo being self-destructive, Broadway's success is indivisible from the theatre's failure. It is ignorance, folly and cowardice for the individual to shrug his shoulder with the rationalization, "What can we do—that's free enterprise." Doesn't that system leave one the will to cultivate a fighting consciousness? Must we enjoy being trapped? It is clear that to create a true theatre one must abandon some of its advantages, allurements and benefits—the "freedom" that enslaves.

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NEW REPUBLIC

ON THE AIR: Swagbags and Optimists

DURING THE LAST WEEK, two television networks gave time to debate on the Federal Communications Commission's "ban" against the swagbag type of giveaway program. The mere fact that such family linen was displayed on the screen is noteworthy.

Like newspaper publishers who operate on the phony principle that most journalistic troubles are unfit to print, broadcasters have traditionally held that their difficulties should never be mentioned. Most of the time, indeed, there is an effective, if tacit, alliance between the owners of the two media. I had fresh proof of that phenomenon a few months ago, in Cleveland, where I had gone to address the city's very active and vigorous radio listeners' council.

The week before I visited Cleveland, there had been important developments in the case of G. A. Richards, owner of three very powerful radio stations accused of ordering newscasters to slant their scripts. Richards controls a sizeable part of Cleveland's air, his WGAR being one of the city's pair of 50,000-watt stations. But only one of Cleveland's newspapers had mentioned the Richards affair, and that in a few lines. The broadcasters ignored the case with ignoble unanimity. Consequently, very few of the ladies who monitor the Cleveland air were even aware that WGAR's principal owner had been hauled onto the FCC carpet. There are curtains made of thinner stuff than iron.

I was pleased, therefore, when both the CBS and the DuMont television networks considered it their duty to let their audiences in on the giveaway fight. CBS put the subject on the TV version of "People's Platform," Monday night at ten. DuMont tried the topic on "Court of Current Issues," which, for an hour each Tuesday night at eight, comes closer than anything on the network air to being a forum instead of a fight.

On the CBS round, Arthur Garfield Hays, scheduled to oppose the FCC's decision, proved again and conclusively what's wrong with most discussion broadcasts. In a recent article on BBC programs of that type, Francis Williams, former editor of the London *Daily Herald*, laid down a formula which I commend to the producers of nearly all our air forums:

> Those taking part should have both knowledge and a degree of open mindedness. The discussion should be an inquiry beginning from different points of view, and not a platform on which spokesmen . . . demonstrate the inflexibility of their loyalty to a party point of view and their fervid inaccesibility to argument.

William D. Boutwell, editor of the *Scholastic Teacher*, had come to "People's Platform" to support the FCC's giveaway decision. Dr. Lyman Bryson, as experienced a moderator as we have, tried hard to steer an even course. But by booking Hays because of his undoubted prominence, CBS put the kibosh on its own excellent intentions. Hays was out to prove his "fervid inaccessibility to argument" on the matter of administrative law—on which he happens to be an expert. Boutwell never had a chance against Hays's hammering and badgering.

Had CBS operated along Williams' lines, it might have given us a balanced discussion of an important subject. All this half hour proved was that Hays is qualified to take over Jay Josten's role on NBC's "Mr. D. A." That's interesting, but irrelevant to the giveaway issue.

DuMont's "Court" extinguishes most of the heat generated by so many of the forums through a format which combines motion, conducive to telegenic interest, with quasi-judicial balance. The moderator is a "judge" with little to do but bang a gavel. Each side in the argument is represented by an attorney who questions a pair of witnesses, subject to cross-examination.

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After the testimony is taken, the lawyers summarize their respective cases. Then a jury of studio listeners gives a verdict. The witnesses are not, of course, without bias, and the attorneys are naturally advocates. But when done well, DuMont's "Court" places the fervor in perspective, with the opposing sides forced to show some factual backing for their rabid fronts.

The DuMont program resulted in one of the most satisfactory air debates I have heard in a long time. The protagonists were lawyers who really know broadcasting: E. Stuart Sprague and William C. Fitts. Sprague's witnesses opposing the FCC's decision were Julius F. Seebach, programming vice-president of the Mutual Network's New York key station, WOR, and Mark Goodson, producer of a half-dozen of the most controversial swagbags on the air, including "Stop the Music." Endorsing the FCC stand were former FCC Commissioner Clifford J. Durr and Al Capp, creator of "Li'l Abner" and the Shmoo.

Durr was, of course, judicious in the liberal tradition he had himself done so much to exemplify at the FCC. Goodson and Seebach held tenaciously to their views against what they call FCC censorship but avoided the huckster's mantle. Capp, speaking as a listener, delivered as tough an attack against shoddy radio as I have heard go out on any transmitter. He went way beyond giveaway programs—into broadcasting's general tendency to accept censorship when it is exercised by advertisers, into advertising that does not reveal all the facts, into "information" programs that obscure instead of enlightening.

However, neither Durr's cool advocacy of genuine public interest nor Capp's philosophy moved the jury. Ten to two, the twelve voted against the FCC's decision on giveaways. Privately, some of the jurors admitted later that they liked Capp's argument. But Big Business impressed them more.

The jury that night was composed of members (and their wives) of the Union City (New Jersey) Optimist Club.

SAUL CARSON

BANDWAGON

Crimson But Not Red

The University will send the team but the band as usual will have to foot its own bill. We are doing all we can to raise money at this end, but we need your help too. Either you can make this an occasion to show the West Coast what Harvard really means, or you can let many go on believing that Harvard men are indifferent—that the University is a hot bed of communism. – *From a letter to alumni from the Harvard Band.*

Pot Luck

"And while we're on the subject," said Ouida [Mrs. Basil Rathbone], "I'd like to correct the notion that I used to throw the most lavish parties in Hollywood. According to the fan magazines, some of my parties cost as much as $25,000. It's absurd. . . . No party I ever gave cost more than five or six thousand dollars." – *From* Cue.

Christian Fellowship

An article stated that the Reverend W. S. Hendricks was enjoying a meal with our highly respected minister, the Reverend J. Wesley Manning, Abingdon Methodist Church, colored. This statement, said the Reverend Hendricks, was a mistake in that Reverend Hendricks did not break bread with the colored minister, but only sat at the table and talked with him while the colored minister ate. – *From the Bristol, Virginia,* Herald-Courier.

A Happy Solution

The president of the Hagerstown [Md.] Real Estate Board, meanwhile, called for complete decontrol of both the city and the county. There's still a housing shortage in Hagerstown, Nelson B. Rowe said, but if controls were lifted "everybody would be so happy they just wouldn't raise rents—except for adjustments." – *From an AP dispatch in the Washington* Post.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clippings. – The Editors

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SEN. LISTER HILL

The comments above were among the first to be received after publication on August 29 of the momentous editorial, "Dollar and Pound for Better or Worse."

Through two world wars and into the troubled present, the editors of this magazine have produced challenging ideas that provided the necessary leads to public discussion and political action. Economic and financial union with Britain is, as Senator Vandenberg says, a vital subject—perhaps the most vital in our quest of peace and the preservation of the free world.

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